A NINTH

Collection of Papers

Relating to the

Preſent Juncture of Affairs in *England.*

VIZ.

I. A Dialogue between two Friends, wherein the Church of *England* is vindicated in joyning with the Prince of *Orange* in his Deſcent into *England.*

II. His late Majeſty's Letter to the Lords and others of his Privy Council.

III. Some Remarks on the late King's pretended Letter to the Lords, and others of his Privy Council.

IV. Reaſons for Crowning the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* King and Queen jointly; and for placing the Executive Power in the Prince alone.

V. A Lord's Speech without Doors to the Lords, upon the preſent Condition of the Government.

VI. Reflections on a Paper, called, A Lord's Speech without Doors.

VII. The Biſhops Reaſons to Queen *Elizabeth* for taking off the Queen of *Scots*: offer'd to the Conſideration of the preſent Sect of *Grumbletonians.*

With an Advertiſement of the Learning and Rhetorick of the late Lord Chancellor *Jefferies.*

London printed, and are to be ſold by *Richard Janeway* in Queen's-head-Court in *Pater-noſter-Row*, 1689.

A Dialogue between two Friends, wherein the Church of *England* is Vindicated in joining with the Prince of *Orange* in his Descent into *England*.

A Dialogue *between a* Churchman *and a* Dissenter.

Church-man. OH! Neighbour, I am heartily glad to see you; I have long desired to have an hour's Discourse with you, that I might know your Sentiments of the *Present Conjuncture*.

Dissenter. Sir, I thank you for my kind Reception, and shall endeavour to make my Visit as agreeable as I can.

Ch. Well, Neighbour, what do you think of the Times now?

Diss. Why, to tell you the truth, I cannot but be pleas'd with the Humour of a Gentleman, who died lately, and injoined his Relations to bury him with his Face downward, saying, That in a short time the World would be turned upside-down, and then he should be the only Person who lay decently in his Grave.

Ch. Why, I must confess there has been a considerable Revolution, but I hope we Churchmen have still kept up our Reputation.

Diss. Ay to be sure; but I hear Hue and Cry has lately been sent after your Doctrines of *Passive Obedience*, *Non-Resistance*, *Jure Divino-Monarchy*, &c. And they say some Roguish Fel-

low has pack'd them up, and run with them back as far as Forty one.

Ch. Indeed our *Passive Obedience* and your *Addresses* have been the two great Supporters of the King's Hopes; but he has now found, to his Sorrow, that we no more designed to obey Arbitrary Commands, than you Address'd for Establishment of Popery: But here's the Mischief of it, you Dissenters will still be condemning us before you have heard us either Explain our Doctrines, or Distinguish the Times.

Diss. Come, come, don't tell me of Explaining or Distinguishing, Honesty is Uniform, and needs no such Shifts: Why did you not Explain and Distinguish while the Court smil'd, and you had the Whip in your hands? As for our Addressing, 'tis plain to all the World we only designed to return the King Thanks for that Common *Liberty* and Ease we had from your Severities.

Ch. 'Pray' Neighbour, be not so warm; you know the Complement was attended with the Promise of Lives and Fortunes, but not to be too nice upon your Good-Breeding in the Case; lend me but a little Patience and I'll demonstrate to you that the Proceedings both of our Clergy and Laity in this late Revolution have been consonant to their former Doctrines, Reason it self, and the Constitution of this Kingdom.

Diss. Well, I commend you at least for fair Promises, I wish you perform them better than a Great Man before you has performed his.

Ch. That I shall leave to the Judgment of the Impartial: But first of all I must crave leave to tell you, That I shall not here undertake to defend the extravagant Notions of every Upstart, who, through Prospect of Advantage, might flatter the Court with his own *Chimera*'s: But, by the aforesaid Doctrines, I mean those generally preached up by the Learned and unbiass'd Clergy, and approved of by all the thinking Men of our Church.

Diss. I must confess I cannot expect you should defend the Excesses of every Novice; but I can by no means reconcile these late Proceedings to those Doctrines which were Asserted by the most Learned of your Clergy.

Ch. Which therefore of our Doctrines would you insinuate to me?

Diss.

Diss. Why, in short, to see a Company of People up in Arms, and joining with an Invader, who had so Zealously Asserted *Passive Obedience*, *Non-Resistance*, &c. and had taken several Oaths, disabling them upon any Pretence whatsoever to take up Arms without the King's Order, &c. This I say is a Riddle to me.

Ch. Your Objection I confess is weighty, though obvious and the common talk; but being prepared by many Premeditations on this Subject, if you please to lend me a little Attention, I shall endeavour to satisfy your Difficulties.

Diss. 'Tis what my Charity much desires.

Ch. First, therefore, to deal ingenuously with you, I confess, at the beginning of this Revolution I was under a very great Surprize: I, who have been in Arms for His Majesty, a warm stickler for the Church of *England*, puffed up with all the Bravado's and Excesses of an *Oxford* Loyalty, must needs be Alarmed to hear our Nobility and Gentry beating up for the Prince of *Orange*, even in the Bowels of our Country. But when I came more seriously to reflect upon the Foundations of our Government, as well as those antecedent Obligations which God Almighty has reserved as his own inviolable Prerogative, I began to regulate my Zeal by calmer measures. And making a more impartial and strict Inquiry into the Opinions of Learned Men concerning the Regal Power, I found this most generally agreed upon; *viz.* That the Obedience and Disobedience of Subjects must be measured by the peculiar Constitutions of every Kingdom, without respect either to the Jewish Polity, where things were determined by God Almighty's special Command, or the Behaviour of the Primitive Christians, who had few or no Legal Rights to Assert.

Diss. Ay, but you Churchmen flattered the Court so long, till our Constitutions were all swallowed up in the Abyss of Prerogative.

Ch. I must confess while Kings are a Protection to Liberty, Property and Religion, the World is naturally prone to flatter them; neither would it be good Breeding to make too nice Inquiries into the Limits of a Prince while he does not exceed them; but when Distress comes impetuously upon a Nation, when Life and All that is Sacred to us lies at Stake, then the Inquiry is not only just; but necessary.

Dif. What Conditions therefore will you Churchmen at length confine your Prince too?

Ch. Why, I shall present you with a short, but impartial view of the Constitutions of this Kingdom, as I find them most faithfully and ingenuously represented by the Royal Martyr in his Answer to the Nineteen Propositions, in these Words, *viz.* 'There being Three kinds of Government among Men, *Absolute Monarchy*, *Aristocracy* and *Democracy*, and all these having 'their particular Conveniences and Inconveniences, the Expe'rience and Wisdom of our Ancestors hath so moulded this out 'of a *mixture* of these, as to give to this Kingdom the Con'veniences of all Three, without the Inconveniences of any 'one, as long as the Balance hangs even between the Three 'Estates, and they run jointly on in their proper Chanel, *&c.* 'In this Kingdom the Laws are jointly made by a King, House 'of Peers, and House of Commons, chosen by the People, 'all having free Votes, and particular Priviledges, *&c.* And 'in this Kind of *Regulated Monarchy*, that the Prince may not 'make not use of his Power to the Hurt of those for whose 'Good he hath it, and make use of the Name of Publick Ne'cessity for the Gain of his private Favorites and Followers, to 'the detriment of his People; the House of Commons (an 'excellent Conserver of Liberty) is solely entrusted with the 'Levying of Monys, and the Impeaching of those, who for 'their own Ends, though countenanced by any surreptitiously 'gotten Command of the King, have violated that Law which 'he is bound to protect, *&c.* Since therefore the *Power Legally* 'placed in both Houses, is more than sufficient to *Prevent* and 'Restrain the Power of *Tyranny*, *&c.* Our Answer is, *Nolumus* 'Leges Angliæ mutari. So far this Royal Author. And indeed what could a generous Prince acknowledg, or a Privileg-asserting Subject desire more? Therefore, upon the whole, it appears by the Confession of the best of Men, as well as the wisest of Princes, that we are under a Government so well appointed for Society and the Exigencies of Humane Kind, that nothing but Folly can think of Establishing a better, and nothing but a Jesuit disturb it: The Scriptures themselves seem to have meant it when they tell us that *Cæsar's* Prerogative must never come in Competition with that of God Almighty, and that Governors shall be a Terror to evil Works. Here King and

and People have each their Territories, and all the Proviſion imaginable made againſt thoſe Diſtractions which either Intereſt or Paſſion ſhould attempt. From all which what can be more naturally inferred, but that we in this Kingdom are by no means obliged to reſign up our ſelves to Violence and Oppreſſion, but that Paſſive Obedience has its Limits, and the Oath of Allegiance its Reſtrictions: A regulated and conditionated Monarch can expect no Obedience from me but what is Conditional too; and what an Abſurdity does it ſeem, that by a Legal Oath I ſhould ſwear an abſolute Obedience to that Authority which is not Abſolute? Beſides, thoſe Subſidies which were granted by the Clergy in ſeveral of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Parliaments for the Relief of the *French*, *Dutch* and *Scotch* Proteſtants, againſt their Oppreſſors, plainly ſhew that it was all along the Opinion of the Church to Reſiſt in caſe Rights and Religion were Invaded: Neither am I perſwaded that the learned and unbyaſs'd Clergy of our preſent Church ever meant any other Obedience than an active Conformity to the Intent of the Law, or a Paſſive Submiſſion to the Penalties of it. Therefore though upon the Foundations of our Government, an impatient Spirit might with a great ſhew of Reaſon eſtabliſh a very extenſive Latitude, in aſſerting the Subjects Right; yet in Favour of Monarchy, which I Reverence, and with Reſpect to the *Preſent Conjuncture*, I ſhall only now trouble you with theſe four Propoſitions, ſuppoſing a mixt Government; 1. That Suſpicions and Jealouſies of a Prince's ſiniſter Deſigns are no ſufficient Grounds for Subjects violently to aſſert their Rights, but in this Caſe the Event of things muſt be left to Providence. 2. That though one Man, or a greater number of Men receive manifeſt Injuries by the Abuſes of Government, yet while they are but an inconſiderable part of the Community, they are in Duty bound rather to ſubmit to Oppreſſion, than interrupt the common Peace: But, 3. When Dangers become demonſtrable, when Religion it ſelf, and the very Foundations of Government are ſo undermined by the Inſinuations of an inconſiderable party, who have obtained the Ear of their Prince, that its unavoidable Ruine muſt neceſſarily follow. In this Caſe I cannot ſee any Reaſon why Right may not be aſſerted. But, 4. When a Foreign Prince with a conſiderable Army Invades a Nation, upon pretence of putting a ſtop to ſuch violent

violent Proceedings, beſides, perhaps ſome juſt Cauſes of a War; I ſay in this Caſe, That the whole Nation may and ought to riſe and put themſelves in ſuch a Poſture, that they may be able to return him Thanks acording to the Merits of his Favours, without being jealous of his Greatneſs. And indeed our preſent Caſe is ſo circumſtantiated, that I Queſtion whether it may be paralle'd in Hiſtory; and let any Man tell me where the Subjects of a *Limited Monarchy*, tired out with the Abuſes of Government, did by fighting for their King encourage Oppreſſion by the Blood of Thouſands, when they might effect a Treaty in all probability with little or no Bloodſhed, by joining with a Prince of their own Intereſt, who, perhaps, can ſhew more juſt Cauſes of a War than one?

Diſſ. I muſt confeſs what you have ſaid ſeems to carry a great deal of Reaſon and Moderation with it, which I muſt allow.

Ch. Let but a moderate Papiſt lend me one grain of his own Principles, and I am confident he cannot but be of my Mind; for may we but modeſtly meaſure the King's future Proceedings (had we truſted him with Victory) by thoſe we had already ſeen, how diſmal would the Proſpect be? Should we but recollect how barefacedly he has been ſtriking at the Northern Hereſy ever ſince the *Oxford* Parliament; what Mercy could we expect? How far ſome of the Proteſtant Nobility were engaged in an Aſſociation to aſſert their Rights, I ſhall not here pretend to determine, but this we may modeſtly preſume, That all their Crimes were ſeen through a Popiſh Magnifying-Glaſs, and no Artifice neglected to ruine them. An ingenious Gentleman was deſervedly applauded for his Rhetorical Colours in the Narrative of that Conſpiracy, and I was well pleaſed with a Gentleman's Fancy, who imagined another Intereſt would now engage him to atone for his unhappy Continuance in the High-Commiſſion Court, by Writing what he obſerved of the Popiſh Deſigns, during his ſtay there. Another eminent Inſtance of thoſe Violences which were Encouraged above, was the Preſenting Two and fifty Perſons in the County of *Northampton* as diſaffected to the Government, and branding them with all the Scandals imaginable; many of which I perſonally know to be as Faithful to the Crown, and in all Reſpects as honeſt and worthy Gentlemen as any in the King-

Kingdom. But to come nearer the *Preſent Conjuncture*, how were our Law, Properties, and all, proſtituted by a few Diſpenſing Gentlemen, ſome of them perfectly incapable of any Place of Truſt, and all of ſuſpected Integrity. How ſurprizing was it to ſee perſons of the moſt contemptible Character placed among our Biſhops; and all the ſacred Authority lodged in a Court which was erected againſt an expreſs Act of Parliament? What a Riddle was it that our learned Prelates (hitherto the great Supporters of the Crown) ſhould be Impriſoned for acting according to their Conſciences, in refuſing to Read that which pretended to eſtabliſh the greateſt *Liberty of Conſcience?* Could any one that ſaw Six hundred Scholars up in Arms, and chearfully demonſtrating their Loyalty in the Weſtern Rebellion, ever think to ſee the Fellows of *Magdalen* Colledg ingratefully turned out like Dogs, and perhaps one of the fineſt Foundations in *Europe*, become a Kennel for Miſcreants, who were more unworthy to be Members of an Univerſity, upon the account of their Inſufficiency, than they were incapable of it by Law? It ſeem'd almoſt a Jeſt to me to ſee in *Chriſt-Church* perſons of that eminent Character and Learning, ſuperintended by a Wretch not fit for common Converſe. In which Society there is a Perſon in whom the Gentleman and the Scholar do very eminently meet, and who for his happy Conduct and great Care to maintain the Repute of that Colledg during theſe Violences, has certainly now all the Title to the Deanry that either merit, or the common Rules of Gratitude can afford him. But to proceed, I ſay to ſee how all Freedom of Elections to Parliament was in a manner taken away; how the Poll at *Northampton* was like to be Regulated by Powder and Bullet, and the whole Government managed by Father *Petre*, *Pen*, *Lob*, and a few more ſuch mercenary Wretches; and all this to introduce a Religion contrary to Scripture, and deſtructive of all Society, for which we expected great things would have been ſaid while the Aſſerters of it had Command of the Preſs, and the Countenance of a Prince, yet nothing was produced but Fallacy and Nonſenſe: Theſe, I ſay, (not to mention the ſubverting Succeſſion, a League with *France*, and thoſe horrid Murthers laid to the Court) are Provocations too great even for Primitive Obedience: But ſeeing theſe Violences have in all probability found their period, and

the

the Betrayers of God and their Country are now coming to Anſwer for themſelves, I ſhall leave further Reflections to a free and unbyaſs'd Parliament.

Diſſ. Ay, but what was it that encouraged theſe Violences? Was it not your unſeaſonable Zeal for an unlimited Obedience? your *Oxford* Decree, and ſuch like Monuments of the Heats of that Age?

Ch. Why, to tell you ſincerely my Opinion in the Caſe; I am perſwaded there were Two Parties in the Nation undermining the Government; the one by more ſecret and myſterious Methods endeavoured to introduce Popery; the other by more evident and bare-faced Proceedings, attempted the Extirpation of Monarchy: Therefore the Generality of the Churchmen being more ſenſible of the Deſigns of the latter, endeavoured to ſtand like *Moſes* in the Gap with thoſe you term unſeaſonable Doctrines, which I alſo take to be the Occaſion of the *Oxford* Decree; for though in my own private Opinion I never approv'd of it, but wiſhed it might have periſh'd in the ſame *Rogus* with the Books it condemned; yet I am ſo well ſatisfied of the Learning and Integrity of thoſe worthy Gentlemen who were chiefly concerned in it, that I do really believe it was only promoted for the Preſervation of the Government.

Diſſ. Ay, you Churchmen have ſuch a way of Reſpecting one another, that you had like to have fooled us, and your ſelves out of all; neither could I ever find you were ſenſible of the approaching Calamities, till Oppreſſion touch'd your own Copy-holds.

Ch. What you object to us in this Caſe ſeems to redound to our greateſt Honour: for by our Principles we had always ſuch a Reverence for Monarchy, that we were willing to connive at the failings of a Prince as long as we could; but having our Rights eſtabliſhed by Law, we knew when we came to be oppreſs'd: The very Foundations of our Government were aſſaulted, and ſo we were forced to make Enquiry into our Conſtitutions.

Diſſ. So then at length you will acknowledg the Prince of *Orange* not only to be a great, but a juſt Deliverer.

Ch. Since I have been better acquainted with the horrid Deſigns of our Adverſaries, and found the Conteſt to be only between

between Papist and Protestant, I am not only highly sensible of the Prince's Generosity, but have inferred the Justice of his Cause from the marvellous Providences which have wrought his Success: It is certainly part of his Character, that as his first Pretences were modest, so Fortune has not tempted him to exceed them; and we have still all the Reason in the World to imagine that he only generously designed to relieve us from Oppression, without any sinister Intent of making himself Great: The Noble Cause he has undertaken is the Protestant Interest, and I doubt not but the Lord of Hosts will fight his Battels. Indeed the Success of this his first Enterprize has been so wonderful and surprizing, that it will make an Annal suspected, and seem a Fable to Posterity: For who will believe that a King, who, had he acted agreeably to the true Interest of Himself and People, might have been almost the Balance of Christendom, who was prepared with a standing Army, and always Remarkable for his Conduct in War, should be invaded by a near Neighbour, Son, and Nephew; and now in a Month's time so generally deserted by his Nobility, Gentry, and Military Forces, as to choose, before the Sword was drawn, to fly for Refuge to a Prince whose Title he and his Ancestors had long disputed? This, I say (as the Learned Dr. *Burnet* Argues at large) was the Lords doing, and ought to be marvellous in our Eyes.

Diss. It was indeed an unparall'd Act of Providence; but now our Deliverance is so far Compleated, what are you Churchmen willing to do towards an Accommodation, and to the Healing of those Differences which in a great measure have contributed to the Growth of Popery?

Ch. Though it be far above my Character to dictate what is fittest to be done at so great and difficult a *Conjuncture*, yet my humble Wishes, are, that the Guardians and Supporters of our Church may resolve upon such Condescentions as may satisfy reasonable Men, and prevent any longer Dissensions amongst us: Yet this I would advise you and your Party, *i. e.* to stay till you are Invited, and not to thrust your selves into our Church: We are now in the hopeful *Crisis* of our Fever; and therefore you ought to take care lest by tampering too much, you disturb Nature in those methods she has took to digest her Humours, and so ruine all. I am not ignorant that at the be-

ginning of the Reformation when a Church was to be made out of a Church, several Ceremonies were retained in Compliance to that Age, which a violent Alteration would have too much surprized; but now, the Humours of Men being changed, may justly be laid aside. On the other hand, I am perswaded with the Author of *Foxes* and *Firebrands*, that *Rome* has all along been industrious to foment our Divisions, by sending us Emissaries, who could artificially dissemble a tender Conscience, and make credulous People believe that all the Decencies of our Worship were nothing but Foppery, Superstition, and the Remainders of Popery: Therefore I say my Wishes are, that a Free and Unbyass'd Parliament will tread the middle path, bearing an equal Respect to the Decencies of our Church, and the tender Consciences of reasonable Men.

Diss. Well, Neighbour, I am heartily glad to see these happy effects of our Calamities; and, as I think, there can be no Government so perfectly appointed as to satisfy all, yet I approve so well of your Temper and Wishes, that I hope we may all Unite upon such or the like terms.

Ch. Therefore to end our Dispute, I shall only now detain you with my hearty Prayers, that the Result of this ensuing Convention on *Jan.* 22. may be happily to settle the Crown; and that in the succeeding Parliament, the management of these Difficulties may fall into the Hands of such Wise and Unbyass'd Persons, that Peace and Truth may be established upon everlasting Foundations, and no sinister Interest interrupt so great a Design.

Diss. Sir, you have infinitely encouraged me to wait upon you oftner, we being I think now either both *Churchmen*, or both *Dissenters*.

Ch. Sir, The Design of this Conference was to tell you freely my Sentiments, and I intend ere long to make it more publick, being willing to provoke some more learned and judicious Pen to perfect what I have here weakly attempted.

Farewel.

His Majesties *Letter to the* Lords *and Others of his Privy Councel.*

JAMES R.

MY Lords, When we saw that it was no longer safe for Us to remain within Our Kingdom of *England*, and that thereupon We had taken Our Resolutions to withdraw for some time, We left to be communicated to you and to all Our Subjects, the Reasons of Our withdrawing: And were likewise resolved at the same time to leave such Orders behind Us to you of our Privy Councel, as might best suit with the present state of Affairs: But that being altogether unsafe for Us at that time; We now think fit to let you know, that though it has been Our constant care since Our first Accession to the Crown, to govern Our People with that Justice and Moderation, as to give, if possible, no occasion of Complaint; yet more particularly upon the late Invasion, seeing how the Design was laid; and fearing that Our People, who could not be destroy'd but by themselves, might by little imaginary Grievances, be cheated into a certain Ruine: To prevent so great Mischief, and to take away not only all just Causes, but even Pretences of Discontent; We freely, and of our own accord redressed all those things that were set forth as the Causes of that Invasion: And that we might be informed by the Councel and Advice of our Subjects themselves, which way we might give them a further and a full Satisfaction, We resolved to meet them in a Free Parliament; And in order to it, We first laid the Foundation of such a Free Parliament, in restoring the City of *London* and the rest of the Corporations to their ancient Charters and Priviledges; and afterwards actually appointed the Writs to be issued out for the Parliaments meeting on the 15*th* of *January*: But the Prince of *Orange* seeing all the

Ends of his Declaration anſwered, the People begiuning to be undeceived, and returning apace to their ancient Duty and Allegiance; and well fore-ſeeing that if the Parliament ſhould meet at the time appointed, ſuch a Settlement in all Probability would be made, both in Church and State, as would totally defeat his ambitious and unjuſt Deſigns, reſolved by all means poſſible to prevent the meeting of the Parliament: And to do this the moſt effectual way, He thought fit to lay a reſtraint on Our Royal Perſon; for as it were abſurd to call that a Free Parliament, where there is any force on either of the Houſes, ſo much leſs can that Parliament be ſaid to act freely where the Soveraign, by whoſe Authority they Meet and Sit, and from whoſe Royal Aſſent all their Acts receive their Life and Sanction, is under actual Confinement. The hurrying of Us under a Guard from Our City of *London*, whoſe returning Loyalty We could no longer truſt, and the other Indignities We ſuffered in the Perſon of the Earl of *Feverſham* when ſent to him by Us; and in that barbarous Confinement of Our own Perſon, We ſhall not here repeat, becauſe they are We doubt not by this time very well known; and may, we hope, if enough conſidered and reflected upon, together with his other Violations and Breaches of the Laws and Liberties of *England*, which by this Invaſion he pretended to reſtore, be ſufficient to open the Eyes of all our Subjects, and let them plainly ſee what every one of them may expect, and what Treatment they ſhall find from him, if at any time it may ſerve his Purpoſe, from whoſe Hands a Soveraign Prince, an Uncle, and a Father could meet with no better Entertainment. However, the ſenſe of theſe Indignities, and the juſt Apprehenſion of further Attempts againſt Our Perſon, by them who already endeavoured to murther Our Reputation by infamous Calumnies (as if We had been capable of ſuppoſing a Prince of *Wales*) which was incomparably more injurious, than the deſtroying of Our Perſon it Self; together with a ſerious Reflection on a Saying of Our Royal Father of bleſſed Memory, when He was in the like Circumſtances, *That there is little diſtance between the Priſons and the Graves of Princes* (which afterwards proved too true in His Caſe) could not but perſuade Us to make uſe of that which the Law of Nature gives to the meaneſt of Our Subjects of freeing Our ſelves by all means poſſible from that unjuſt Con-

finement

finement and Reſtraint. And this We did not more for the Security of our own Perſon, then that thereby We might be in a better Capacity of tranſacting and providing for every thing that may contribute to the Peace and Settlement of Our Kingdoms: For as on the one hand, no change of Fortune ſhall ever make Us forget Our Selves, ſo far as to condeſcend to any thing unbecoming that High and Royal Station, in which God Almighty by Right of Succeſſion has placed Us: So on the other hand, neither the Provocation or Ingratitude of Our own Subjects, nor any other Conſideration whatſoever, ſhall ever prevail with Us to make the leaſt ſtep contrary to the true Intereſt of the *Engliſh* Nation; which We ever did, and ever muſt look upon as Our own. Our Will and Pleaſure thereof is, That you of Our Privy Councel, take the moſt effectual care to make theſe Our Gratious Intentions known to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in and about Our Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, to the Lord Mayor and Commons of our City of *London*, and to all Our Subjects in general; and to aſſure them, that We deſire nothing more, than to return and hold a Free Parliament, wherein We may have the beſt Opportunity of undeceiving Our People, and ſhewing the Sincerity of thoſe Proteſtations We have often made of the preſerving the Liberties and Properties of Our Subjects and the *Proteſtant Religion*; more eſpecially the *Church of England* as by Law eſtabliſh'd, with ſuch Indulgence for thoſe that diſſent from Her, as We have always thought Our ſelves in Juſtice and Care of the general Welfare of Our People bound to procure for them. And in the mean time You of Our Privy Councel, (who can judg better by being upon the place) are to ſend Us your Advice, what is fit to be done by Us towards Our returning and the accompliſhing thoſe good Ends. And We do require you in Our Name, and by Our Authority, to endeavour ſo to ſuppreſs all Tumults and Diſorders, that the Nation in general, and every one of Our Subjects in particular, may not receive the leaſt Prejudice from the preſent Diſtractions that is poſſible. So not doubting of your Dutiful Obedience to theſe Our Royal Commands, We bid you heartily Farewel. Given at St. *Germans en Laye* the 14 *January* 168⅞. And of Our Reign the fourth Year.

By his Majeſties Command.
MELFORT.

Directed thus, To the Lords, and Others of our Privy Councel of Our Kingdom of *England*.

Some

Some Remarks on the late Kings pretended Letter to the LORDS, *and Others of his Privy Council.*

IT begins thus, *My Lords, When we ſaw that it was no longer ſafe for us to remain within our Kingdom of* England, *&c.*

His Majeſty would have given great Satisfaction to the World in diſcovering where the Danger lay in tarrying here; from whom, and for what cauſe.

He is pleaſed to ſay farther: *We now think fit to let you know, that though it has been our conſtant care ſince our firſt Acceſſion to the Crown, to govern our People with that Juſtice and Moderation as to give, if poſſible, no occaſion of Complaint,* &c.

I do not underſtand why his Majeſty would not let us know theſe his Gracious Intentions before, when they might have done Himſelf and Us Good.

But *quid verba audiam cum facta videam*, to what purpoſe are Words when we ſee Facts? And as to his Moderation, I appeal to the Pope himſelf, or the French King, who chiefly blame him for his Raſhneſs and want of Temper; and as for his Juſtice, among a thouſand publick Inſtances to the contrary, he ſhould remember his diſcountenancing and turning out of their Employments all ſuch as would not enter into his Idolatrous Worſhip, and comply with his illegal and arbitrary Deſigns. Beſides, what Juſtice can Hereticks expect from a Prince, who is not only a Papiſt, but wholly devoted to the Order of the Jeſuits, and values himſelf for being a Member of thoſe Reverend Cut-throats? *Yet more particularly upon the late Invaſion, ſeeing how the Deſign was laid, and fearing that our People, who could not be deſtroyed but by themſelves.* The Deſign was to preſerve the Nation from falling under the cruel Dominion of the French,

French, and to keep our ſelves from being dragg'd by the Hair of the Head to Maſs, and from undergoing all thoſe Miſeries which thoſe of the ſame Religion, and for the ſame Cauſe, have endured now lately in *France* and *Savoy*. *To prevent ſo great a Miſchief*, (that is to ſay, deſtroying our ſelves,) *and to take away not only all juſt Cauſes, but even Pretences of Diſcontent: We freely and of our own accord, redreſt all thoſe things that were ſet forth as the Cauſes of that Invaſion.* I appeal to the common Faith of Mankind touching the Inſincerity of theſe Words, whether if this Invaſion had not been, theſe and worſe Grievances had not followed. *And that we might be informed by the Counſel and Advice of our Subjects themſelves, which way we might give them a further and full Satisfaction; We reſolved to meet them in a Free Parliament*, &c.

The late Kings of *England* have been as deſirous of a Parliament as Popes of a Free and General Council; there being nothing they have more ſtudiouſly avoided, and greatlier feared.

But the Prince of Orange *ſeeing all the Ends of his Declaration anſwered, the People beginning to be undeceived, and returning apace to their ancient Duty and Allegiance, reſolved by all poſſible means to prevent the meeting of the Parliament*, &c.

How far the Prince of *Orange* has been from preventing the meeting of a Parliament, we need only conſult our ſenſes.

The hurrying us under a Guard from our City of London, *whoſe returning Loyalty we could no longer truſt, and the other Indignities we ſuffered in the Perſon of the Earl of* Feverſham, *when ſent to him by us, and in that barbarous Confinement of our own Perſon, we ſhall not here repeat.*

Do's any Man think the Prince of *Orange* would have had the ſame gentle Treatment from the King, had he been in like manner under his Power? And as to the Kings concernment for the unheard of Suffering of the E. of *F.* I do not wonder at it, having ever had ſo little Affection, or rather ſo great an Antipathy to his Engliſh Subjects.

This will be ſufficient to open the Eyes of all our Subjects, and let them plainly ſee what every one of them may expect, and what Treatment they ſhall find from him, if at any time

it

it may ſerve his Purpoſe, from whoſe Hands a Soveraign Prince, an Uncle, and a Father could meet with no better Entertainment.

All wiſe and good Proteſtants are ſo certain of happy times under the Government of this moſt excellent and incomporable Prince, that they have nothing left to fear or deſire, but that God would preſerve him from the Helliſh Fury of the Papiſts And as to all theſe Relations of a Soveraign Prince, an Uncle, and a Father: The King would have done well to have acquitted himſelf to the Prince as became all theſe Relations.

However the Senſe of theſe Indignities, &c. *And as if we had been capable if ſuppoſing a Prince of* Wales.

I believe and know that the Conſcience of a Popiſh Prince, wholly under the Conduct of the Jeſuits, will find no Difficulty in conſenting to ſo pious a Fraud, provided it can be carryed on with all prudent Cautions.

For as on the one hand, no change of Fortune ſhall ever make us forget our ſelves, ſo far as to condeſcend to any thing, unbecoming that High and Royal Station, in which God Almighty, by right of Succeſſion has placed us. So on the other hand, neither the Provocation or Ingratitude of our own Subjects, nor any other Conſideration whatſoever, ſhall ever prevail with us to make the leaſt ſtep, contrary to the true Intereſt of the Engliſh Nation.

His Majeſty's ſincere Friend the French King, with whom he now enjoys a nearer Converſe, will alſo concur with him in this good Deſign of promoting the true Intereſt of *England.* And as to his Majeſty's Inclinations to Mercy, and paſſing by Provocations, we need mention no other Inſtances, but thoſe in the Weſt, where the Cruelties exerciſed on thoſe unfortunate People, cannot be parallel'd in any Hiſtory of Barbarians.

Our Will and Pleaſure therefore is, that you of our Privy Council, take the moſt effectual care, to make theſe our gracious Intentions known to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and to all our Subjects in general, and to aſſure them that we deſire nothing more, than to return and hold a Free Parliament, wherein we may have the beſt Opportunity of undeceiving our People, and ſhewing the Sincerity of thoſe Pro-

teſtions

of preserving (especially) the Church of England *as by Law established.*

A Man wou'd wonder any Prince that overlooks what his Secretary writes, should suffer such apparent and palpable Untruths to pass: For is it not manifest to all the World; That the late King, through the Jesuits Counsel, did all that was possible to weaken and overturn (especially) the Church of *England*, as well by open Declarations and Practices, as by more secret Ways and Contrivances, inciting one part of his Protestant Subjects to destroy the other, and then immediately after exposing them for it, and encouraging and inspiring these later with a Spirit of Revenge and Retaliation.

And thus having briefly run over whatever seems material in this Letter, I shall desist from Repetitions, and insisting on mere words of Course, and Matters of form, seeing this would be to tire to Reader's Patience, and a lessning of his Judgment.

Reasons for Crowning the Prince and Princess of Orange *King and Queen jointly; and for placing the Executive Power in the Prince alone.*

WHereas the Grand Convention of the Estates of *England*, have asserted the Peoples Right by declaring, *That the late* King James the Second, *having endeavoured to Subvert the Constitution of the Kingdom, by breaking the* Original Contract *between* King and People: *And by Advice of Jesuits, and other wicked Persons, having Violated the* Fundamental Laws: *And having withdrawn himself out of this Kingdom, has* Abdicated *the Government, and that the* Throne *is thereby* Vacant. For which Misgovernment He has forfeited

the Truſt of the Regal Inheritance of the Executive Power, both in Himſelf, and in His Heirs, Lineal and Collateral; ſo that the ſame is devolved back to the People, who have alſo the Legiſlative Authority; and conſequently may of Right Give and Diſpoſe thereof, by their Repreſentatives, for their future Peace, Benefit, Security, and Government, according to their good Will and Pleaſure. And foraſmuch as it is abſolutely Neceſſary, that the Government be ſpeedily ſetled on ſure and laſting Foundations, and conſequently, that ſuch Perſon or Perſons be immediately placed in the Throne, in whom the Nation has moſt reaſon to repoſe an entire Confidence: It therefore now lies upon Us to make ſo Judicious a Choice, that we may, in all Humane Probability, thereby render Ourſelves a Happy People, and give Our Poſterity cauſe to Rejoice, when they ſhall read the Proceedings of this Wiſe and Grand *Convention*. Who is it therefore that has ſo highly Merited the Love and good Opinion of the People, the Honour of Wearing the Crown, and Swaying the Scepter of this Land, as His Illuſtrious Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*? who with ſo great Expence, Hazard, Conduct, Courage, and Generoſity, has happily Reſcued Us from *Popery*, and *Slavery*; and with ſo much Gallantry Reſtored Us to Our Ancient Rights, Religion, Laws, Liberties, and Properties: for which Heroick Action, we can do no leſs, in Prudence, Honour, and Gratitude, than Pray Him to Accept Our Crown.

II. It is better to ſettle the Exerciſe of the Government in One who is not immediate in the Line, than in One that is; (1.) Becauſe it is a clear Aſſerting of a Fundamental Right, that manifeſts the Conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Government, and covers the Subjects from Tyranny and Slavery. (2.) It cuts off the Diſpute of the pretended Prince of *Wales*. (3.) The old Succeſſion being legally Diſſolved, and a new one made, the Government is ſecured from falling into the Hands of a Papiſt.

III. The *making* the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* King and Queen jointly, is the Nation's Gratitude and Generoſity: and by re-continuing the *Line* in Remainder, is manifeſted the ineſtimable Value the People have for the *two Princeſſes*, notwithſtanding the Male-adminiſtration of the Unhappy Father.

IV. The

IV. The preſent State of *Europe* in General, and of theſe Kingdoms in Particular, require a Vigorous and Maſculine Adminiſtration. To recover what's loſt, reſcue what's in danger, and rectify what's amiſs, cannot be effected but by a Prince that is conſummate in the Art both of Peace and War. Tho the Prince and Princeſs be King and Queen jointly, and will equally ſhare the Glory of a Crown, and we the Happineſs of their Auſpicious Regin: yet the Wiſdom of the Grand Convention is manifeſted,

Firſt, In placing the Executive Power in One of them, and not in Both; for two Perſons, equal in Authority, may differ in Opinion, and conſequently in Command; and it is evident no Man can ſerve two Maſters.

Secondly, It's highly neceſſary and prudent, rather to veſt the Adminiſtration in the Husband, than in the Wife.

(1.) Becauſe a Man, by Nature, Education and Experience, is generally rendred more capable to Govern than the Woman.

Therefore, (2.) the Husband ought rather to Rule the Wife, than the Wife the Husband, eſpecially conſidering the Vow in Matrimony.

(3.) The Prince of *Orange* is not more proper to Govern as he's Man, and Husband only, but as he is a Man, a Husband, and a Prince of known Honour, profound Wiſdom, undaunted Courage, and incomparable Merit; as he's a Perſon that's naturally inclin'd to be Juſt, Merciful and Peaceable, and to do all Publick Acts of Generoſity for the Advancement of the Intereſt and Happineſs of Humane Societies, and therefore moſt fit under Heaven, to have the ſole Executive Power.

A Lord's Speech *Without Doors*, *To the Lords upon the present* Condition *of the* Government.

My Lords,

PRay give me leave to cast in my *Mite* at this time upon this great Debate; and though it be with an entire dissent to some Leading Lords, to whom I bear great reverence, it is according to my Conscience, and that is the *Rule* of every honest Man's Actions.

My Lords, I cannot forbear thinking, that a greater Reproach can hardly come upon any People, than is like to fall upon us *Protestants*, for this unprecedented usage of our poor King: We feared the security of our Religion because of Him, and are now like to *Violate* a great part of it by forfeiting our Loyalty towards Him; *Religion* is the Pretence, but some fear, a *New Master* is the Thing: This I take to have been to Business of to Day; for, notwithstanding we see how feeble a thing *Popery* is in *England*, that it is beaten without Blows, and routed so effectually, that it can never hope, nor we justly fear, it should return upon us, and consequently our Religion pretty secure, yet I don't see that this satisfies us, unless the *King* goes also: He must be *turned away*, and the Crown *change* its Head; for if the *Crown* be not the *Quarrel* more than Property, and his *Majesty's Person* than his *Religion*; Why did not the *Prince* stop, when he heard a *Free Parliament* was calling by the *King's* Writs, (where all Matters, especially that of the *Prince of Wales*, might have been considered) or at least, where his Majesties Commissioners of Peace met him? Who advised him to advance, and give his Majesty that apprehension of his own insecurity; and if any thing but a

Crown

Crown would have ſerved him, Why was a *Noble Peer* of this Houſe clapt up at *Windſor*, when his Majeſty ſent him on purpoſe to invite the *Prince* to St. *James's*? a Meſſage that affected all good Mens Hearts more then any thing, but his Majeſty's return, *it look'd ſo Natural and Peaceable.* But it ſeems, as if it had been therefore affronted, for the Invitation could not have been received without the *King*'s remaining King; and who was there that did not lately ſay, it ſhould be ſo? and who is there now that does not ſee it is not ſo?

We can, my Lords, no longer doubt of this, if we will remember that the ſame Night the *Prince* ſhould have anſwered his Majeſty's kind Meſſage, *The King's Guards were changed, and at midnight the Prince's Guards were clapt upon his Majeſty's Perſon*; and which is yet more extravagant to accompliſh the buſineſs, *Three noble Lords*, in view, were ſent to let him know, *It was not for his ſafety, or the Princes honour, that he ſhould ſtay in his own Palace.* A ſtrange way, my Lords, of treating ones own *King* in his own Houſe. I cannot comprehend how it was for the *Prince*'s Honour the *King* ſhould go againſt his Will; or how it was againſt his Honour that his Majeſty ſhould be ſafe in his own Houſe: I leave it with your Lordſhips to think who could render the *King*'s ſtay unſafe at *White-hall* after the *Dutch* Guards were poſted there?

My Lords, this I confeſs is the great *Inquiry* that ſticks with me, and deſerves our ſevereſt Scrutiny and Reflection; that after *driving* our *King away*, we ſhould offer to addreſs our ſelves to any Body to take the Government, as if he had formally diſerted it: it becomes us rather to ask, *Where the King is? how he came to go? and who ſent him away?* I take the Honour of the *Peerage* of *England* to be deeply ingaged, both at Home and Abroad, *to ſearch out this Matter*, and eſpecially thoſe who are now preſent, moſt of whom owe their ſhare in *that noble Order* to his Majeſty, his Brother, Father, or Grandfather. It is not unreaſonable to believe the King had not gone at firſt, but upon ſome *Meſſage ſent, and Letters received*, to take care of his Perſon, for that nothing leſs than the Crown was intended; but being not out of his own Territories, and therefore no Diſſertion, Abdication, or Remiſe, as the Caſuiſts of the Conſtitution we are under pretend, (for the King may be where he will in his own Kingdom:) we ſee while it was in

his

his choice to go, he returned, and by as good as our adviſe too; ſo that we cannot in truth ſay his Diſſertion is the cauſe; for it is plainly the Effect of our late extraordinary proceedings. If any ſhould ſay, *He needed not have gone now*: it is a great miſtake, for a King ought to go, if he cannot ſtay a King in his own Kingdom, which *Force* refuſed to let him be: And to ſtay a *Subject* to another Authority, had been a *meaner forfeiture* of his Right, then can in juſtice be charged upon his Retirement: Wherefore his going muſt and will lie at their Doors that *ſet him an hour to be gone out of his own Palace*.

Many are angry (and yet pleaſed) that he is gone for *France*; but where, my Lords, ſhould he go? *Flanders* dared not receive him: *Holland*, you could not think he ſhould go to; and *Ireland* you would have liked leſs; and when we conſider how far a *League* with *France* has been made the cauſe of his Misfortune (though to this day it is in the Clouds) what other *Prince* had the ſame Obligation to receive and ſuccor him: Therefore whatever Arts are uſed to *blacken* his Retreat, we cannot, with any ſhew of Reaſon, imagine that he could think himſelf ſafe with us, that had *exerciſed Soveraign Power without him, our Soveraign Lord*, and under the protection of a *Forraign Prince* and his *Army*; though at the ſame time, we had *Sworn Allegiance to him, and that it was unlawful for us to take up Arms againſt him under any Pretence whatever*.

My Lords, if this be not virtually and in effect to pull the *Crown* off his Head, and dethrone him unheard, I am to learn my Alphabet again. This is ſhort warning to give Kings, for us at leaſt, my Lords, that boaſt of Loyalty, and were brought to theſe Seats by the favour of the *Crown*. What can other Nations think of the Nobility of this, if we come not to a juſter temper? God defend us, and our Children after us, from the ill Conſequences of what has been done, and prevent the reſt. Had we imbraced the happy Providence of his Majeſtyes return, we might have improved it, that the Children unborn ſhould have bleſſed us: Then we had reformed ſafely, for by joyning *Title* to our Actions, we had made them legal: This we ſhould have had from his Majeſty, or a plain denial, which would in ſome meaſure have excuſed ſo rare and unuſual an Enterpriſe; Nor can I comprehend which way it is poſſible to *guard the Prince's Honour*, but by doing his Majeſty

Right;

Rights, for your Lordships may please to remember, that in the *Memorial of the States*, that was printed amongst us, which they gave to all the publick Ministers at the *Hague*, to justify their lending the *Prince* their *Forces* upon this Expedition, they do expresly say, *It was upon condition not to dethrone the King, or alter the Succession*; and in my Opinion we are in the high way to both.

My Lords, we are *Protestant Christians*, as well as *Peers* of the Realm; and are now *upon our Religion and Conscience*, as well as *Honour*, to do right: Let us so act as we can answer it to God and Man, and not *stumble at Straws and leap over Blocks*: Errors cannot be corrected by committing greater; nor one part of the Government be mended, by beating out another to do it. I need not tell your Lordships, that by our Laws, Kings cannot err, and therefore they are not accountable, but their Ministers are, without whom a King cannot perform any Act of Government, which is the reason of the Maxim; and therefore let them be punished that the Law only makes guilty. This our wise Ancestors contrived to save the *Head of the Government whole*, and to prevent the Confusion and Disorder that might otherwise be apt to attend the Form of it; nor is it indeed a thing that ought to be indured by us *Peers*, to suppose that he that raised us so high, could be for any Reason thrown by us so low.

My Lords, Let us limit the King if you please, but not renounce Him; there is a difference between restraining and destroying Him. What need of such extraordinary Remedies, since that which secures the Government under one *King*, will do it under another? *Popery* it self can never come in but over the Bridg of *Despotick* or *Absolute* Power; and if we can secure our selves from that, we are as safe against Opinion as against Ambition; and till we are so by an Amendment of our Constitution, we are exposed to the meer good Nature of the *Prince* in Possession whoever he be. And to render what I have said to your Lordships not unreasonable, and what I have to move your Lordships to, in the close of my Speech, not ungrateful; I beseech your Lordships that we may cast up our Account, and see how our Loss and Gain stands, so far as we have gone in our late Change.

We have lost a lawful *King*, and got an unlawful *Protector*,

as

as our Law stands, we have miſſed a Legal and a Free Parliament, and have got a Convention that cannot make Laws, nor call a Parliament that can, but what will need a Confirmation from a better Authority.

We have loſt the Reputation of *keeping our Faith with Hereticks*, by breaking our ſolemn Oaths with our *King*, in the time of his Extremity, becauſe we thought him ſuch, though he gave us leave to lay down our Commiſſions, that we might not have the Temptation or occaſion to *betray Him*; But we have got the Reputation of good Proteſtants by it, though I fear, not of good Men, in that ſome of us have not only not ſhown our ſelves religiouſly concerned for our Religion, but in ſome reſpect, not honeſtly; that beſides a thouſand perſonal Immoralities, could preſs Advance-Mony from the *King* overnight, to bear the charges of diſſerting Him next day, againſt our *warm and repeated Vows, to take his Fate, and die at his Feet?* and that any of us ſhould be *ſainted* for this Treachery, and numbred among the *Martyrs* for our running away, cannot ſurely be the *Lords doing*, let Dr. *Burnet* ſay what he will, and yet *it is very marvellous in ſome Mens Eyes for all that.* Theſe are the Sparks, my Lords, that haunt the poor *Kings* Blood, though we know they had hardly had any in their Veins but for his Bounty, and yet are the Favorites of the Reformation. For Chriſt's ſake, my Lords, let us not at this rate *chriſtian Villany*, and *rank Diſhoneſty among the Graces.* *Popery* it ſelf could not have done more, and it is certain, we are even with the *Papiſts* now to all Intents and Purpoſes.

This is not all our Loſs, we have rebelled againſt the fifth Commandment alſo, *Honour thy Father*; and though we have got that of *leaving Father for the ſake of Religion*, we could have but little Religion to do it in ſuch a manner, to ſo affectionate a Father; nor did it leſſen the Error, to have a Church-of-*England* Apoſtle to be Captain of her Life-Guard, *in his blew Coat, and Jack-Boots*, and an errant *temporal Sword in his Hand, to defend natural Affection and paſſive Obedience.* This was an odd ſort of Compliance with our Saviour's Command, to put up his Sword, as one of St. *Peters* Succeſſors. My Lords, I muſt not ſtop here; we thought we had been rid of *Papiſt Souldiers*, but find we have got as many *Papiſts* in our *Dutch*, as we had in our *Engliſh Army*: Now it is plain, that either all

Pa-

pists are not alike, and then the Danger we have apprehended from *Papists*, is not universal, as we have affirmed, but that they are to be lived with, since we are to be saved and guarded from the Danger of *Popery* by them; or we have ill luck to think we can be safe from that Religion by those that are of it, because they are *Dutch-men*. My Lords, I am sorry we can take such Pleasure to see Strangers tread our Courts, pray God it does not show the way to other Countries to take their turns. But that a *Dutch Papist* should be so *harmless* a thing with us, that though no *Papists* could be so, shows our Contradictions to a Madness. I know not how well our *Souldiers* like to give way to *Dutch-Men*, that though they had purchased a Preferance to Strangers at a dear rate; but it is the justest thing in the World upon them, that the *Prince* should distrust those to guard him, that had betrayed their own Master that loved them to a fault; they may serve to be sent for *Holland*, to be knockt on the Head in the *Dutch-mans* quarrel, but never to be trusted at home, though they have given up their Quarters with their *King* to Foreigners, so that the Proverb is true upon them, they have hereby brought their Noble to Nine-pence. Yet to be just, I must confess it is a Reproach due to their Officers, and not all of them neither, and time may give those the Opportunity to retrieve the Credit they have lost by other Mens Faults.

We were also very apprehensive of the ill Consequences of the *dispensing Power*, especially in the case of Sr. *Edward Hales*; but it seems the *Common Council of London* are forbid to take the usual Oaths, and yet required to act, which is an unqualified Capacity. We were in hopes we had lost a rude Army, but we have found a ruder; twenty places cry out of them; and *Kingstone* certainly with great Justice, that in two Nights time was two hundred Pounds the worse for them. And for *Closseting* we have got *Questioning*, that they that won't enter into *Associations* to protect the *Prince of Orange*, without one of our *King*, is to have no Imployment; so that if the *Prince* should take the *Crown*, I am bound to defend him against my own *King*, and my *sworn Allegiance*, though he come in the right of his *Crown*. Believe me, my Lords, it is the boldest bid that ever Men made; I see *Forty one* was a Fool to *Eighty eight*; and that we Church of *England* Protestants shall cancel all the Merits of our Fathers, overthrow

the Ground and Conſequence of their moſt *exemplary Loyalty* to *King Charles* the firſt and ſecond, render their Death, the *Death of Fools*, trample their *Memories and Blood* under our Feet, ſubject our ſelves to the *juſt Reproach* of the *Phanaticks*, whoſe Principles and Practices we have outdone, even to that *King* that we forced upon them, and by our Example had brought them to live well withal. God help us, this my Lords makes me ſay, that either we muſt turn from being Church-of-*England*-Men, or ſteer another courſe, for it is but too plain that *Presbytery* is leading us out of our ancient way; and whether we believe it or no, our Church ſinks, and will more, for that is the Intereſt that ſuits beſt with a *Dutch Humour and Conjunction*; and be ſure, if we are ſo baſe to leave our *King*, God will be ſo juſt as to leave us; and here, my Lords, I ſhall leave you, with this *humble motion*, that we make an *humble Addreſs to his Majeſty to return home to us*, that we may act ſecurely, and not go out of the good old way, which may intail Miſery upon us and our Poſterity. I ſhould think we have had enough of *ſending our Princes abroad*, in that much of the Inconveniency we have lain under ſince their Reſtoration, has been chiefly owing to it: We have driven him where we would not have him go, and do what we can to provoke that League we have been afraid of; and made a great part of the reaſon of this ſtrange Alteration in the Kingdom. Some tell us, *it is too late*, but I cannot comprehend the good ſence of ſuch an Objection; Is it at any time too late for a *King* and his People to agree? after bloody Battels it has not been thought ſo, in all times and Nations; and why it may not be without them, I never heard a good reaſon yet: If his going was unreaſonable, it has hurt him more than us, ſince we may thence hope for the better terms; if it was not a Fault to go, it will be a great one in us, if we can have him home upon good terms, and will not; for if I may with leave ſpeak it, his return is as much our Conveniency as his Advantage.

The offenſive part of Him is gone, that is to ſay, the Power of *Popery*, and what remains is our great Intereſt to keep and improve to our own Benefit and Safety; I mean, my Lords, *His undoubted Title and Kingſhip*. And whatever ſome hot Men ſay, that are more governed by private Avarice and Revenge, then the publick Good of theſe Kingdoms, I cannot but renew

my

my motion to your Lordſhips, that we may ſend a *Duke*, an *Earl*, a *Viſcount* and a *Baron*, and two *Spiritual Lords* to invite his Majeſty home, upon the Conſtitution of the Government. And my Lords, forgive me if I ſay, that if we can but get our *Juries*, *Sheriffs*, *Judges*, *High Courts of Chancery and Parliaments* ſetled as they ought to be; the *Army* at leaſt reduced, the *Militia* better regulated, and a due *Liberty of Conſcience* eſtabliſhed to all Proteſtant Diſſenters, and ſo far to Papiſts only, as the *Law againſt Conventicles does admit*, we may yet be happy; and upon theſe terms, my Lords, and no other, will his Highneſs the *Prince of Orange* become truly meritorious with the *Engliſh Nation.*

Reflections on a Paper called a LORD'S *Speech without Doors.*

THIS Noble Lord would have done ingenuouſly in letting the World know his Name, and whether he be a Lord or not; for one cannot gather it from his Liberality, *of caſting in a mite* at this time, when mean People, ſuch as Trades-men, have more generoſity, and effectually contributed to the publick Peace and Honour of the Nation. And as to *his diſſenting to ſome leading Lords on the account of Conſcience*; we are in the dark as to what ſort of Conſcience his is, whether Papiſt or Phanatick Conſcience, or indeed whether it be any Conſcience at all, which makes him differ from ſome leading Lords; for the making of Speeches within or without Doors, is no infallible Mark of either.

But he ſays, *He cannot forbear thinking that a greater Reproach can hardly come upon a People, than is like to fall on us Proteſtants.* Ah, good Soul, what's the matter? Are the Proteſtants at length found to be the Firers of their own City, or Sr. *Edm. B. Godfrey*, and the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Murtherers? *&c.* Why no, *O its this unpreſidented Uſage of our poor King.* A good tender-hearted

Jeſuit I'le warrant thee, that has entred (with *Campian*) into an Holy League and Covenant to deſtroy all Proteſtant Kings and Princes, unleſs they become as bigotted to the Society as the *poor King* was. But let me take the Boldneſs to ask your Honour one Queſtion; Is there no time when compaſſion is due to the Country? *Religion is the Pretence, but ſome fear a new Maſter is the thing.* And is it any wonder if a new Maſter be deſired, when the old one will not let me ſerve him, but will deſtroy me, and perhaps himſelf too; this being a clear caſe, and evident to all Orders and Degrees of Men among us.

We ſee how feeble a thing Popery is in England: and it is, I do not doubt, your Lordſhips great Grief that your old Maſter may not be let in again, to ſtrengthen and revive her drooping and almoſt decayed Spirits.

But why did not the Prince ſtop, when he heard a Free-Parliament was calling by the Kings Writs, where all matters, eſpecially of the Prince of Wales, *might have been conſidered*, &c. As to a Free-Parliament, is it not evident to all the World that the King could not bear it? Beſides, who told his Lordſhip, that his old Maſter would abide by the Deciſions of a Free-Parliament, touching the Legitimacy or Spuriouſneſs of his Prince of *Wales*?

The Kings Guards were changed, and at Midnight the Prince's Guards were clapt on his Majeſties Perſon. And I pray what harm befel him from this change?

It ſeems he might, notwithſtanding, diſpoſe of himſelf as he pleaſed. And was it decent, when his own People forſook him, that he ſhould be left at the Diſcretion of the Rabble?

It becomes us too to ask where the King is? how he came to go? and who ſent him away? A notable Queſtion indeed, and which every Apple-woman, or Broom-man can reſolve.

But many are angry, and yet pleaſed. This is *Nokes* all over: Why then, angry and pleaſed is one and the ſame thing with your Lordſhip.

That he is gone for France: *but where, my Lords, ſhould he go?* Flanders *dared not receive him.* Good your Honour why? is not his Catholick Majeſty as zealous and hoſpitable as the moſt Chriſtian King? Ay but the Spaniard had no private Leagues of aſſiſting each other to root out the Northern Hereſy, and other Intimacies which every Body muſt not know of.

Holland

Holland *you could not think he should go to.* Yet there was a time when *Holland* was more kind to him and his Brother than *France*, and he has rewarded the former very well for it.

Therefore we cannot, with any shew of Reason, imagin that he could think himself safe with us, that had exercis'd Soveraign Power without him our Soveraign Lord.

Sure I am, no Man of Sense could think himself safe under his Power, that was unwilling to part with his Religion and Property.

And under the protection of a Foraign Prince and his Army, And without his Protection, what wou'd have become of us?

Though at the same time we had sworn Allegiance to him, and that it was unlawful for us to take up Arms against him under any Pretence whatever.

I would know of your Lordship, Whether the Oath, in your Honour's sence, does not make our Lives and Estates to depend on the Prince's mere Will and Pleasure?

My Lords, let us limit the King, if you please, but not renounce him. Did he tell your Reverence he would be limited? And was he not limited before? Besides, a Prince of his Humour, and in his Circumstances, must needs be very easy, and his Subjects very secure, under these Chimerical Limitations.

But we had lost a Lawful King; and gotten a more Lawful, and infinitely Better in his room.

Against our warm and repeated Vows, to take his Fate, and die at his Feet. I know not of whom the Gentleman speaks, unless it be of Addressers, whose Dissimulation and deceitful Courtship I have ever more abominated than himself.

And that any of us should be numbred among the Heroes for our running away, cannot surely be the Lord's doing, let Dr. Burnet *say what he will.* This Gentleman do's very well to put himself among the Run-aways; but its more likely his Reverence wou'd have bin Sainted, and made an Hero by staying behind.

For Christ's sake, my Lords, let us not at this rate christen Villany, and rank Dishonesty among the Graces.

A Man wou'd take his Lordship now for some *Lincolns*-Inn-*Fields* Mumper from his Cant; but he beggs in earnest, who's All is at Stake; I know your Honour's Necessity, the State of whose

who's Caſe is briefly this; The Papiſts, and eſpecially the Jeſuits in their Conſults, both at Home and Abroad, for the ſetting up of Popery, and extirpating the Proteſtant Religion in *England*, have come to this deciſive Concluſion, that it's impoſſible to effect this but under a Popiſh King.

But ſays he further, *This is not all our loſs, we have rebelled againſt the* 5th *Commandment alſo, Honor thy Father; and though we have got that of leaving Father of the ſake of Religion, we could have but little Religion to do it in ſuch a manner, to ſo affectionate a Father.*

Here his Reverence, I find, is not ſerious, but jokes on his *poor King*; for give me an inſtance where his Paternal Affection appear'd, unleſs his Fatherly care of dragging us up in his own Religion be one?

Nor did it, ſays he, *leſſen the Error, to have a Church-of-*England *Apoſtle to be Captain of her Life Guard*, &c.

I wou'd ask my Noble Sir here one Queſtion, (for the Jeſuits are wont to be excellent Caſuiſts) Whether a Churchman, obſerving his own, and his Neighbours Houſes a going to be fired by Rogues, he may not uſe another Sword beſides that of the Spirit, to drive them away?

Now he is troubled, and in great conflicts of Spirit, *how our Soldiers are like to give way to Dutch-men.*

The Dutch Soldiers have behaved themſelves with that Civility and Moderation, where-ever they come, as may make others of that Profeſſion bluſh at a Compariſon in this point. However, let not this Matter much afflict your Honour, or Reverence. There will be care taken that our Soldiers ſhall not give way to Foreigners, nor to every Iriſh-man, who you know were the Sparks and Darlings of the laſt Reign.

But now *it is but too plain, that Presbytery is leading us out of our Ancient Way.* Never fear it, good Father, for there's no danger of either that, or Popery, being the National Religion in *England*. And having ſatisfi'd you ſo far, I am not willing to tire my ſelf with writing Replies to every Word of your *Speech without Doors.*

The

The Bishops Reasons to Queen Elizabeth, *for taking off the* Queen of Scots, *taken out of Sir* S. D'Ewes *Journal: offered to the Consideration of the Present Sect of* Grumbletonians.

FOR that they had a long time, to their intolerable Grief, seen by how manifold most dangerous and execrable Practices, the said Queen of *Scots* had compassed the Destruction of her Majesties Person, thereby not only to bereave them of the Sincere and True Religion of Almighty God, bringing them and this Noble Crown back again into the Thraldom of the *Romish Tyranny*, but also utterly to ruinate and overthrow the happy State and Commonweale of this most Noble Realm; to banish and destroy the Professors and Profession of the True Religion of Jesus Christ, and the Ancient Nobility of this Land, to bring this whole State and Common-weale to Forreign Subjection, and to utter Ruine and Confusion; which Malicious Purposes would never cease to be prosecuted by all possible Means, so long as the said Queens Confederates, her Ministers and Favourites had their Eyes and Imaginations fixed upon the said Queen, the only Ground of their Treasonable Hopes and Conceits, and the only seed-plot of all Dangerous and Traiterous Devices and Practices against her Majesties Sacred Person. And for that, upon advised and great Consultation, they could not find any possible means to provide for her Majesties Safety, but by the just and speedy Execution of the said Queen, the neglecting whereof might procure the heavy Displeasure and Punishment of Almighty God, as by sundry severe Examples of his great Justice in that behalf

behalf left us in Sacred Scripture, doth appear; and that if the ſame were not put in Execution, they ſhould thereby (ſo far as Man's Reaſon could reach) be brought into utter Deſpair of the Continuance amongſt them of the true Religion of Almighty God, and of her Majeſties Life, and of the Safety of all her Subjects, and of the Good Eſtate of this flouriſhing Commonweale.

For that ſhe (the ſaid Queen of *Scots*) had continually breathed the Overthrow and Suppreſſion of the *Proteſtant Religion*, being poyſoned with *Popery* from her tender Youth, and at her Age joyning in that falſe termed *Holy League*, and had been ever ſince, and was then a powerful Enemy of the Truth.

For that ſhe reſted wholly upon Popiſh hopes, to be delivered and advanced, and was ſo devoted, and doted in that Profeſſion, that ſhe would (as well for the ſatisfaction of others, as for the feeding her own Humour) ſupplant the Goſpel where and whenſoever ſhe might; which Evil was ſo much the greater, and the more to be avoided, for that it ſlayeth the Soul, and would ſpread it ſelf not only over *England* and *Scotland*, but alſo into all Parts beyond the Sea, where the Goſpel of God is maintained, the which cannot but be exceedingly weakned, if Defection ſhould be in theſe two moſt violent Kingdoms.

For that if ſhe prevailed, ſhe would rather take the Subjects of *England* for Slaves than for Children.

For that ſhe had already provided them a Foſter-father and a Nurſe, the *Pope* and King of *Spain*; into whoſe hands if it ſhould happen them to fall, what would they elſe look for but Ruin, Deſtruction, and utter Extirpation of Goods, Lands, Lives, Honours and all?

For that as ſhe had already by her poyſon'd Baits, brought to Deſtruction more Noble-men and their Houſes, and a greater multitude of Subjects, during her being here, than ſhe would have done if ſhe had been in Poſſeſſion of her own Country, and arm'd in the Field againſt them; ſo would ſhe be ſtill continually the cauſe of the like ſpoil, to the greater loſs and peril of this Eſtate; and therefore this Realm neither could nor might endure her.

For that her Sectaries both Wrote and Printed, that the *Proteſtants* would be at their Wits end, Worlds end, if ſhe ſhould

ſhould out-live Queen *Elizabeth*; meaning thereby, that the end of the *Proteſtant* World was the beginning of their own; and therefore if ſhe the ſaid Queen of *Scots*, were taken away, their World would be at an end before its beginning.

For that ſince the ſparing of her in the Fourteenth Year of Q. *Elizabeths* Reign, Popiſh Traitors and Recuſants had multiplied exceedingly: And if ſhe were now ſpared again, they would grow both innumerable and invincible alſo: And therefore Mercy in that caſe would prove Cruelty againſt them all: *Nam eſt quædam crudelis miſericordia*; and therefore to ſpare her Blood, would be to ſpill all theirs.

And for God's Vengeance againſt *Saul*, for ſparing the life of *Agag*, and againſt *Ahab* for ſparing the life of *Benhadad* was moſt apparent, for they were both by the juſt Judgment of God deprived of their Kingdoms, for ſparing thoſe wicked Princes, whom God had delivered into their Hands. And thoſe Magiſtrates were much commended, who put to Death thoſe miſcheivous and wicked Queens, *Jezabel* and *Athaliah*.

And now I would deſire our *Grumbletonians* (eſpecially they of the Clergy) to conſider how extreamly they have degenerated from the good and laudable Principles of their Fore-fathers. They may ſee how urgent the Biſhops, and others, in Queen *Elizabeth*'s days, were to have the Queen of *Scots* removed, (as above ſaid) and how they encouraged the Queen to aſſiſt the *Dutch* againſt their Soveraign Lord, when he attempted them in their Religion and Laws; but now they that firſt oppoſed *One* that has broken the *Original Contract between King and People*, and done horrid things, contrary to the Laws of God, Nature, and the Land, yet when God, out of his merciful Providence, and ſingular favour to us all, has inclined him (being ſenſible of his own Guilt) to leave the Throne, theſe very Men that firſt withſtood him (as I ſaid) begin to pitty him, plead for him, and extol him; and continually, both in Pulpit, (for one of them lately ſaid there, *That a parcel of Attorns could as ſoon make a World, as a Convention make a King*) and alſo in Coffee-houſes, mutter and grumble againſt the Proceedings of the great and Honorable *Convention* of the Kingdom, and are buſy in ſending out, and privately ſcattering their puling

 Pamphlets,

Pamphlets, under the Titles of *Mementoes*, *Speeches*, and *Letters*, empty of ought elſe, but the ſpleen of a fooliſh and fruſtrated Faction. Good God! what inconſtancy, folly, and madneſs poſſeſſes the Breaſts of theſe Men? to what a miſerable ſlavery would they lead us, and how fond and eager do they ſeem to have him rule over Us, who (like the Stork in the Fable) has, and would make it his greateſt delight, to devour the beſt of free-born Subjects? But, I hope, that in a little time they will know the Things that belong to the Kingdom's Peace, and dutifully pray for (tho at preſent there is no uniformity in their Pulpits ſave in the Diſſenters) and ſubmit chearfully and thankfully to him whom God has made the *Glorious Inſtrument of our Deliverance from Popery and Slavery.*

God ſave King William and Queen Mary.

ADVERTISEMENT.

☞ THere is lately publiſhed the Trial of Mr. *PAPILLON*, by which it is manifeſt that the then Lord Chief Juſtice *Jefferies*, *had neither Learning*, *Law*, *nor good manners*, *but more Impudence than ten Carted Whores*, (as was ſaid of him by King *CHARLES* II.) in abuſing all thoſe worthy Citizens who voted for Mr. PAPILLON and Mr. DUBOIS, calling them a parcel of *Factious*, *Pragmatical*, *Sneaking*, *Whining*, *Canting*, *Shiveling*, *Prickear'd*, *Cropear'd*, *Atheiſtical Fellows*, *Raſcals*, and *Scoundrels*, &c. as in *p.* 29. and other places of the ſaid Trial may be ſeen. Sold by *Richard Janeway*, and moſt Bookſellers.

FINIS.

24766(v.9

UMI